

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4609

INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5543

NOFORN

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: CSCE: PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF THE EC-9

REF: A) STATE 116033; B) STATE 140044 (NOTAL)

1. PARTICIPANTS FROM EC-9 COUNTRIES ARE PURSUING SEVERAL ISSUES OF INTEREST TO THE EC AS AN INSTITUTION. SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF TWO OF THEM IS BEING MADE A CONDITION FOR FINAL AGREEMENT ON A STAGE III DATE. ON ANOTHER -- ARRANGEMENT OF THE SPEAKERS LIST AT HELSINKI -- THE EC POSITION WOULD UNDERCUT OUR OBJECTIVE OF PREVENTING BREZHNEV FROM BEING FIRST SPEAKER. THE ISSUES ARE AS FOLLOWS:

2. "DOUBLE SIGNATURE" BY EC PRESIDENCY: EC -9 MEMBERS WISH THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTRY HOLDING THE EC PRESI-
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DENCY TO SIGN THE FINAL ACT IN HIS EC AS WELL AS HIS

NATIONAL CAPACITY. THEY ARGUE THAT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT IS LEGITIMATE RECOGNITION OF THE EC'S IMPORTANCE AS AN INSTITUTION AND THAT IT IS NECESSARY "LEGALLY" IN LIGHT OF THE EFFECT BASKET II DECISIONS COULD HAVE ON COMMON EC ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL POLICIES.

3. PREFERRED METHOD OF HANDLING THE ISSUE WOULD BE TO HAVE TITLE UNDER THE SIGNATURE OF ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER MORO PRINTED AS FOLLOWS: "PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF ITALY AND IN THE CAPACITY OF PRESIDENT (PRESIDENT EN EXERCISE) OF THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY." THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR PROPOSED THIS METHOD TO SOVIET DELEGATION CHIEF KOVALEV, WHOSE REACTION WAS NEGATIVE. KOVALEV'S MAIN OBJECTION WAS THAT SUCH AN ARRANGMENT WOULD MAKE THE EC APPEAR AS A 36TH PARTICIPANT IN CSCE AND THUS CONSTITUTE SOVIET RECOGNITION OF THE COMMUNITY AS AN INSTITUTION.

4. EC REPS IN GENEVA FEEL BOUND BY A DECISION OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS TO DEMAND THAT THE EC TITLE BE PRINTED FORMALLY UNDER THE NAME OF THE ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER IN THE FINAL ACT. THEY SAY PRIVATELY, HOWEVER, THAT AS A FALL BACK MORO COULD WRITE HIS EC TITLE IN INK UNDER HIS NAME WHEN SIGNING THE FINAL ACT. SOVIETS EVIDENTLY WOULD NOT OBJECT TO THIS ARRANGEMENT. WHATEVER THE SOLUTION, EC MEMBERS WILL DEMAND RESOLUTION BEFORE GIVING FINAL APPROVAL TO STAGE III DATE.

5. BASKET II: RECIPROCITY: ACHIEVEMENT OF A SATISFACTORY FORMULATION ON RECIPROCITY IS THE SECOND COMMUNITY-RELATED CONDITION FOR FINAL DECISION ON STAGE III DATE. GENEVA REPS ARE BOUND BY GUIDANCE ISSUED AT THE LUXEMBOURG MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS AND SAY WORDING OF THIS PHRASE WILL BE IMPORTANT IN FUTURE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST. RECIPROCITY AND MFN ARE THE ONLY REMAINING ISSUES IN COMMITTEE II AND THE TWO ARE CLEARLY LINKED. US INTERESTS ARE GENERALLY IN LINE WITH THOSE OF THE EC, ALTHOUGH THE EC APPEAR TO PUT SOMEWHAT MORE EMPHASIS ON GETTING A SATISFACTORY FORMULATION ON RECIPROCITY THAN WITHSTANDING EASTERN PRESSURES ON MFN.

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6. STAGE III: ORDER OF SPEAKERS: EC MEMBERS WISH TO HAVE THE ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER BE THE FIRST COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE TO SPEAK AT STAGE III. IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THIS WILL BE POSSIBLE, THEY WANT TO MAINTAIN THE POSSIBILITY OF TRADING PLACES AFTER THE SPEAKING ORDER HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED BY DRAWING A LOT. SUCH TRADING WOULD OF COURSE INVITE TRADING BY THE SOVIETS, AND RISK HAVING BREZHNEV AS FIRST SPEAKER.

AS INSTRUCTED IN REFTELS, US DEL HAS MAINTAINED FIRM OPPOSITION TO ANY TRADING OF SPOTS IN THE SPEAKING ORDER. WE HAVE INFORMED THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN AMBASSADORS OF OUR POSITION AND MADE CLEAR THAT THERE IS LITTLE GIVE IN THE US STANCE. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAS SUGGESTED THAT ONE WAY OUT OF THE PROBLEM MIGHT BE FOR THE FOUR CSCE PARTICIPANTS WHO ARE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO RENOUNCE THE PRIVILEGE OF SPEAKING FIRST, WHATEVER THE RESULTS OF THE DRAW. WE HAVE TOLD THE FRENCH THAT THIS ALTERNATIVE IS UNWORKABLE AND THEREFORE UN-ACCEPTABLE.

7. COMMENT: DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT IN ADDITION TO OUR DESIRE NOT TO HAVE BREZHNEV SPEAK FIRST, THERE ARE REASONS OF A MORE GENERAL NATURE FOR OBJECTING TO TRADING PLACES IN THE SPEAKING ORDER. EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW DAYS HAVE DEMONSTRATED HOW INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES CAN THROW THE CONFERENCE INTO AN UPROAR. ONCE TRADING BEGAN, ANY NUMBER OF PROBLEMS COULD RESULT, ESPECIALLY CONSIDERING THE COMPLEX RELATIONS AMONG THE VARIOUS POLITICAL LEADERS WHO WILL BE TRAVELLING TO HELSINKI. COMPETITION BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANIES AND THE GREECE/TURKEY/CYPRUS PROBLEM ARE THE MOST OBVIOUS OF SEVERAL EXAMPLES WHICH COULD BE MENTIONED.

8. IN OUR VIEW, ALTERNATIVE PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IS AS BAD OR WORSE AS TRADING ITSELF. THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT RENOUNCE THEIR RIGHT TO SPEAK FIRST WHILE PERMITTING THE EC-9 PRESIDENCY TO TRADE FOR A HIGHER PLACE. INDEED, IF THE WEST CHOSE TO MAKE AN ISSUE OF FIRST PLACE ON THE SPEAKERS LIST, THE SOVIETS MIGHT DECIDE TO SEEK FIRST PLACE ACTIVELY THEMSELVES. THEY HAVE THUS FAR ACCEPTED THE DRAWING OF LOTS, BUT UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES MANY DELEGATIONS

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HERE WOULD RECOGNIZE BREZHNEV'S RIGHT TO FIRST PLACE ON THE LIST, SINCE CSCE ORIGINATED FROM A COMMUNIST IDEA.

9. THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR HAS SUGGESTED THAT ANOTHER POSSIBLE COMPROMISE WOULD BE FOR THE EC MEMBER WHOSE TURN COMES FIRST IN THE OFFICIAL SPEAKING ORDER TO REFER TO THE FACT THAT THE ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE COMMENTING ON COMMUNITY CONCERNS. THE FRENCH DO NOT YET SEEM READY TO CONCEDE ON THIS POINT, WHICH THEY SEE AS A LEGITIMATE ASPECT OF ENSURING A PROMINENT ROLE FOR THE COMMUNITY AT HELSINKI.

10. WE WILL CONTINUE PRESSING FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE NO-TRADING CONCEPT WHILE MAKING IT CLEAR THAT WE

ARE NOT TRYING TO BLOCK LEGITIMATE EC EFFORTS TO
STRENGTHEN COMMUNITY REPRESENTATION AT STAGE III.
ITALIAN IDEA MAY OFFER POSSIBILITY FOR ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION.
ABRAMS

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